



Project No.: CIT4-CT-2006-028698

RECON
Reconstituting Democracy in Europe

Integrated Project
Priority: 7 - Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society

Deliverable No. 71
Workshop on representation and the RECON models

Due date of deliverable: May 2010
Actual delivery date: 28-29 May 2010

Start date of project: 1 January 2007

Duration: 60 months

Lead contractor for this deliverable:
Partner 20 OEAW
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria

Final Version

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)		
Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	X
CO	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

1. Introduction

RECON Deliverable No. 71, *Workshop on representation and the RECON models*, is part of work package 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-Up. WP 3 analyses the contribution of formal structures of representation to the EU's 'capacity for democracy', seeking methodological and conceptual integration through the better integration of normative theories of democracy and representation with empirical findings from the EU arena. The overall objective of WP 3 is to assess the status of democracy in Europe, with emphasis on: clarifying the nature of the challenges facing systems of representation at the national and supranational levels in Europe; analysing interactions between these levels; establishing the direction of change (towards which of the three RECON models these systems develop); and evaluating the democratic quality of these arrangements. Such an assessment requires proper attention to the broader institutional settings within which patterns of representation are entrenched in the European multilevel setting.

In the months 37 to 54 of the project, WP 3 moves towards the completion of its projects and begins the dissemination of results. This involves a change of emphasis from data collection to data analysis as well as a series of initiatives by individual projects to engage the wider scholarly community in the discussion of preliminary findings, to make data available to other researchers, and to turn the high output of working papers from this work package into publications in leading journals, including the publication of the results of the democratic audit, and two book proposals on the democratic audit and on representation and the EU.

2. Presentation of the workshop

The Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences hosted the workshop 'Directions of Change' in Vienna on 28-29 May 2010. The aim was to examine the 'directions of change' in the realm of political representation. Guests from Europe and beyond were invited to present theoretical or empirical papers on the concept of representation and its electoral dimension in the EU context.

Johannes Pollak (EIF/Webster University) opened the conference and chaired the first panel on 'Normative aspects of representation'. Mark Warren (University of British Columbia) presented the paper 'Rethinking democratic representation: eight theoretical issues' where he developed his views on authorisation and accountability (within and beyond elections), representation as trusteeship, input and output representation, representation as a democratic practice, representation and political processes, subjects and objects of representation. Christopher Lord (ARENA, University of Oslo) continued with his paper on 'The intrinsic value of representation' in which he argued that the fundamental criteria of a representative democratic order are public control, political equality and public justification. According to his novel approach, unlike forms of direct and participatory democracy, parliamentary representation is uniquely placed to serve democratic politics in modern mass societies.

The second panel was devoted to 'Representation and electoral politics'. Manos Sigalas (EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences) presented a paper co-authored by Monika Mokre, Johannes Pollak, Jozef Batora and Peter Slominski that tested empirically the EU party politics related dimensions of the three RECON models. In particular, the authors examined if the 2009 European election party manifestoes converge or diverge with the Euro-party manifestoes in terms of structure and content. The empirical findings showed that there is greater diversity

among the socialist and conservative party families, while the green parties are more likely to adopt the positions of the European Green Party. Contrary to perceived knowledge, the manifestoes proved primarily European in their outlook. This paper was subsequently published as RECON Online Working Paper 2010/13 in August 2010. Mark Franklin (European University Institute,) then presented a paper where he elaborated on the persevering ‘puzzle of representation’. He examined the impact of different electoral systems and of public opinion on the electoral cycle and their implications for representation. The second panel ended with a presentation by Erik O. Eriksen (ARENA) of the paper ‘on EU democratisation: the representation-deliberation interface’ (co-authored by John Erik Fossum). In his presentation, Eriksen underlined the need to draw on deliberative theory, in order to better understand representation at the EU level, and he proposed a variant of deliberative theory that perceives democracy as an organisational form and as a combination of the principle of justification

The second day of the conference dealt with ‘The practice of representation’ at the EU level. Hussein Kassim (University of East Anglia) presented the paper ‘What does the European Commission represent?’, which integrates the normative literature on new definitions of representation with the findings of a survey on Commission officials. Hussein’s data showed that European Commission officials do not view themselves as representing the interests of particular political parties or nation-states but of the general public or of the EU as a whole. Finally, Sonja Puntcher-Riekmann (University of Salzburg) presented her paper on ‘The rise of agencies and consequences for democratic governance’. Sonja highlighted that the growing (and unclear) number of EU agencies perplexes the EU representation question. Considering the ad hoc nature of emergence and operation of these agencies, it is not easy to answer whether semi-independent EU agencies help enhancing the democratic representation credentials of the EU or not.

Hermann Schmitt (University of Mannheim), Jürgen Neyer (European University Viadrina Frankfurt) and Erik O. Eriksen gave valuable and detailed feedback to the presenters, which in turn contributed to a lively discussion and a stimulating intellectual experience.

3. Participants

Eriksen, Erik Oddvar	ARENA, University of Oslo
Franklin, Mark	European University Institute
Kassim, Hussein	University of East Anglia
Lord, Christopher	ARENA, University of Oslo
Pollak, Johannes	Webster University, Vienna
Puntcher Riekmann, Sonja	University Salzburg
Neyer, Jürgen	European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder)
Schmitt, Hermann	University of Mannheim
Sigalas, Emanuelle	EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Warren, Mark	University of British Columbia

4. Programme

See attachment.

Directions of Change

RECON Workshop
WP 3 - Representation and Institutional Make-up

Vienna, 28-29 May 2010

Venue: **Hollmann Theater Salon**, Hollmann Beletage Hotel (www.hollmann-beletage.at)

Organized by The Institute for European Integration Research (EIF) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Programme

Friday, 28 May 2010

- 09:30 **Welcome**
J. Pollak
Webster University Vienna
- 10:00-12:30 **Panel I**
**Justification and Representation: in what 'normative light' is
accountability 'conducted'?**
- Chair**
J. Pollak
Webster University Vienna
- Rethinking democratic representation: eight theoretical issues**
M. Warren
University of British Columbia
- The intrinsic value of representation**
C. Lord
ARENA, University of Oslo
- Discussant: E. O. Eriksen**
ARENA, University of Oslo
- 12:30-14:30 **Lunch**
- 14:00-14:50 **Panel II**
Representation and electoral politics
- Chair**
E. O. Eriksen
ARENA, University of Oslo
- Coordination between national and European parties: evidence from the
2009 European elections**
M. Sigalas
EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences
- The puzzle of representation**
M. Franklin
European University Institute
- Discussant: H. Schmitt**
University of Mannheim
- 18:30 **Dinner**
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Saturday, 29 May 2010

10:00-13:00

Panel III

The practice of representation

What does the European Commission represent?

H. Kassim

University of East Anglia

The rise of agencies and consequences for democratic governance

S. Puntsher Riekman

University Salzburg

Discussant: J. Neyer

European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder)

13:30

Concluding lunch